1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

tongue, however, and told me that most of the women of the hamlet were afraid of her. Finally the shouting subsided, and that evening Yat and Wof, Mar's *uncle* and foster father, discussed the affair calmly, decided that Yawa was guilty of stealing the grubs, and arranged for Kafa and Yat to be repaid in kind with grubs taken from one of Mar's plots. When Wof returned home, he lectured Yawa severely for her offense and threatened to beat her if she did it again.

A Kwoma weds soon after he becomes adult. Adolescent courtship, culminating in the trial marriage in which the girl comes to live with the boy's parents, is finally terminated, if all goes well, by a special ceremony which makes the couple man and wife. The boy's mother determines when this ceremony shall take place. If she is satisfied with the girl and knows that her son is also, she tells her to cook the food for the afternoon meal. Hitherto the betrothed has cooked food only for herself, and the boy's food has been prepared by his mother or sisters. The mother chooses an occasion when the boy is away from the house, so that, when he returns, he begins eating his soup unsuspectingly. When he has nearly finished his first bowl, his mother informs him that it was his betrothed who cooked the meal and that he is now married. At this announcement, it is expected that the boy will rush from the house and exclaim as he spits out the soup: "Faugh! It tastes bad! It is cooked terribly."

After the wedding ceremony, the couple live together as man and wife, and the customs which regulate marital sexual behavior apply to them. They never sleep in the same bed but lie alone on separate bark slabs, joining only for copulation, which is performed with a minimum of embracing and foreplay. All informants insisted that a husband and wife should not sleep together. When I asked Gwiyap if he might not sleep with his wife on cold nights, he replied, "No, I would be ashamed to." I asked why and he replied, "It is a bad thing to do. The big men like my uncle War would be cross. It is his duty to take care of me and see that I do nothing wrong."[20]

[20] *Homba*, "shame" or "guilt" is the same word which Kwoma use to

685 621 578 885 583 585 593 833 513 [192] [196]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

593 833 A woman supposedly takes the initiative in sexual intercourse even after marriage. It is the wife who visits her husband's bed. Informants admitted that the husband sometimes takes the lead, but that much more frequently the woman does so. The Kwoma men spoke of this custom as being related to that of the woman taking the initiative in clandestine love affairs and courting.

834 833 A man may not have sexual intercourse with his wife when she is menstruating, lest his penis be damaged by menstrual blood; nor when she is obviously pregnant, lest he damage the foetus; nor when she has an infant still at the breast, lest she have a second child and thus be forced to neglect the first one;[21] nor when he has just returned from a cult ceremony, lest his recent contact with the cult spirits harm the woman. This last restriction lasts from one to three nights, depending on the degree of sacredness of the ceremony. In any case he must wash himself carefully before lying with his wife to remove the dangerous spirit "infection." Finally, a husband and wife take care not to copulate while their children are still awake.

837 A Kwoma man's sexual behavior is not restricted to intercourse with his wife. He continues to have affairs with other women in a manner similar to that described for adolescents. He carries on his affairs secretly at carefully arranged trysts. He must be very careful not to stare at another man's wife, lest it cause suspicion, and must wait for the woman to take the initiative, lest she bring upon him the wrath of her

[593] [833] [513] [192] [196]

describe their feeling about brother-sister incest. In this context the effect may be derived from the punishments which a child receives during the weaning period for trying to sit in the lap of, sleep next to, and otherwise gain physical contact with, his mother. It is possible that if a man should sleep in contact with his wife, this earlier situation would be to some extent recreated and he would have feelings which he describes as *komba* as a result. The fact that Gwiyap referred this feeling to fear of the big men of the hamlet suggests that it may be related to the Oedipus situation. It should be remembered that at the same time that the mother no longer permits her infant to sleep next to her, the taboo on sexual intercourse which applied during the infancy of her offspring is lifted and the father, when he visits the mother at night, literally takes the place vacated by the child.

[21] Polygyny and philandering lessen the frustration of all these restrictions.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13. Kwoma OJ13

ings about ghosts are issued during childhood. Boys and girls are warned not to go abroad at night lest they be attacked by ghosts, not to approach the places specified as the land of the dead lest an accident befall them, not to go near the platform on which the dead are exposed lest the ghosts which hover around harm them, and not to whistle at night lest they attract these dangerous supernatural beings. Adolescents are warned not to disobey the commands of a ghost as they are issued through the medium of a possessed person lest they come to harm.

The Kwoma believe that certain people have the power to injure or kill by means of sorcery. They do so either by inserting a magical "poison" into food to be eaten by the victim or by burning in a special clay pot certain materials, particularly food leavings, blood, and semen, which have been associated with the victim. A child is first warned about sorcery during the weaning period, when he is told not to eat food given him by anyone except a close relative, lest there be "poison" in it, and not to eat away from home lest he carelessly spill crumbs with which he can be sorcerized. These warnings are repeated during childhood, and others are added. A boy is warned not to spill the blood of the snakes and marsupials which he kills, lest it be found by a sorcerer and used against him. He is also warned to be careful not to spill his own blood when he cuts himself. Adolescent boys are warned not to have sexual intercourse with a girl who is likely to give his sperm to a sorcerer. Adolescent girls are warned to dispose of their menstrual blood carefully, so that it cannot be used as sorcery material.

The Kwoma believe that food is converted into blood, which remains in the system for a time and then deteriorates. Good (fresh) blood is responsible for the health of an adult and the normal growth of a child. Bad (deteriorated) blood causes sickness and pain and prevents normal growth. It follows from this theory that bad blood must be removed from the system in order to insure good health and normal growth, and that care must be taken not to eat food contaminated with bad blood and thus get it back into the system.

513 593 [838] 262 584

wife. They are only in bed together to have intercourse and then sleep by themselves.

After supper I went down to Mar's. He was eating soup. He had consumed most of a small saucepan (2 quarts). He said he was thinking of Aya. I said, "Well, why don't you get her?" He said he would like to, but Way had forbidden him. I said, "Why, are you afraid of what the big men say?" Gwiyap said, "Yes master." Mar is always afraid of what the big men say. "I'm not the same. If it had been me, I'd have married Aya a long time ago."

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I hadn't been at Mar's long, before Wof sang out asking who was looking out for my house. I said no one, and he told me I had better return or someone would steal something. I told him everything was locked up and stayed. He grumbled for a while, and after about five minutes he sang out that he was going there. I followed. He got a firebrand and looked around the house and then gave me a lecture on the danger of leaving my house unguarded. In the first place my stuff would be stolen, and in the second, there was danger of sorcery being worked, and I and my house boys would all die. If I had a door which I could fasten, it would be all right, but since I had not, I shouldn't leave my house unattended, particularly at night. I said that it was raining, and I didn't think anyone would be abroad. He told me it made no difference -- that there were apt to be prowlers at any time. Then he said he was not cross with me but merely <u>sawuto maani</u> (explaining things) to me for my own good.

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Wof said he had been to Koriasi and gathered pay from his sister. "Big fela more" --they had carried May's pig and Mauk's yams.

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Then Wof asked me if I would give him an gouris pigeon to make soup to pay for lopping down trees in his garden. He stressed the fact that

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he was my <u>laka</u> (elder sibling). I said I would. The kerosene is almost gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

*115 about?" No answer. It was a lizard on the roof. "All the Kwoma are having
[823] intercourse now", Mar volunteered. Another pause, and "Tomorrow I will go to my bush house". I asked him if he had work to do but he said "No, I'll just go there. When I told him to go ahead, he added that he didn't intend to go but was only fooling. "I'll stay here and help you." There was another noise at which Mar jumped up and decided to go but first requested a lantern which I didn't give him. He left, but a few minutes later he returned saying he had forgotten the file he was going to borrow. "I saw a ghost on the way but I chased it away. Yes." He took the file and went. February 6, 1937.

*115 Mar's mother scolded him severely for going to the house of War and
584 stressed sorcery danger as the reason. Mar answered that I went with
593 him so that it was all right. This evening he spoke to me of Aya; I asked
754 him what was the matter with Waya, his fiancee. He replied that she was lazy, weak, unattractive and that her genitals were no good either. March 3, 1937.

I went to War's house with Owiyap and Mar at the latter's suggestion. As we approached the house Mar called out for Mes who was not there. Owiyap knew it but had not said anything. Mar made some remarks as if he was rather surprised and rather annoyed that Mar was not there. He was obviously going to see the sister. He approached the house still talking in this vein so the mother who was there could hear. He did not go in the porch but stood up outside. Owiyap paused before going in but finally went in and sat down.

587 Later that day Mar told me that Wanyakowa was first married to Wonuma
837 and by him had Dogaremanu. When her husband died she went to live with Tat. He went to work for the whites and Dagwaur took care of her. One day she went to get firewood and Dagwaur followed her. When she was leaning

[i.e., probably Mes.—analyst]

March 27, 1937.

856 [123] Owiyap and Pit asked if I had ever cut my genitals and scraped them with nettles. When I replied in the negative they inquired how was it that I had come to grow. They were so convinced that this is essential to growth that they were very surprised that white men could grow without it.

April 5, 1937.

838 171 Sodomy is not openly practiced, however Owiyap says that it is practiced at Yenbon.

* 115 When I talk with him about the attractiveness of Enya or Awa, although at first he talked avidly, he now seems embarrassed and changes the subject.

601 595 If a man has two wives the child calls them both ave (mother) unless the other wife is a widow of an uncle. Then he calls her amwa or newulaka (younger uncle and elder aunt, respectively).

593 * 833 Intercourse after marriage is at the wife's instigation and not the man's.

April 15, 1937.

* 115 291 Last night Owiyap was sitting in the mosquito netting and took off his "lap lap." He said he liked to walk about thus--he did not like to wear it.

* 115 123 829 Talk turned to America, and he asked me alot of questions, particularly about the status of black skins in America. I told him that they had houses and money, and worked just as white people do, and tried to convey that their status there was much higher in relation to whites than it was in New Guinea. He asked me if black boys married white women. I said that they sometimes did. Owiyap said that he would like to go to America and stay there. He said, "If I go to America, I'll be all-a same masta," (just like a white man).

* 115 787 He had a long dream last night. A woman had died and was on a platform. He did not know who she was except that her name was Yumakwo. Way was stabbing this woman with a rope which has the point of a spear. His daughter came up and held Owiyap by the arms and asked him to come with her into the bush, as she did not like what her father was doing.